5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used.

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (*in* Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease.

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kütru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

421 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, Ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Perú and probably of the Piedmont of the northern Chile (McBride, 1936, pp. 305, 307).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

●437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. thûiln; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 258, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (llaŋkas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 184) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc, but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. [439] They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Puelche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

462 To the man fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

In the Pacific (pl. 42, *f*); the dugout (*waupo*; Spanish, *canoa*) (pl. 40, *j*) and the raft, the balsa (*taqi*), were used in Cañaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in canoes. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Cañaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Cañaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Cañaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 10 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent subsidiary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.
[i.e. a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or